

does not appear to be any mention of their being consumed.²³ One may reasonably infer that ducks' eggs were not generally favoured, and they seem entirely appropriate in Statius' list alongside such items as caps made from old cloaks (line 24), faded napkins (line 25), onion skins (lines 29–30), snail shells (lines 32–33), and cloudy wine (line 39).

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²³ André, *op. cit.*, p. 152 mentions ducks' eggs as having been eaten by the Romans, but in a footnote (n. 4) he says 'bien que le fait ne soit attesté que pour la Grèce, cf. Ériphos *ap.* Athén. 58 b', and in fact the passage quoted by Athenaeus mentions not ducks' eggs, but goose eggs. I am grateful to Professor K. D. White for confirming my belief that there are no ancient references to the eating of ducks' eggs.

THE LUCRINE LAKE AT JUVENAL 4.141

The solution to the problem posed by the presentation of the giant turbot to Domitian is put forward by Montanus, a gourmet well qualified to adjudicate in such matters: one bite was sufficient for him to distinguish between oysters from Circeii, the Lucrine, or Richborough (Juv. 4.140–2). The text reads:

... Circeis nata forent an
Lucrinum ad saxum Rutupinoue edita fundo
ostrea callebat primo deprendere morsu.

Oysters from Circeii, the promontory north of Formiae on the Campanian coast, are mentioned by Horace (*Sat.* 2.4.33) and by the elder Pliny (*N.H.* 32.60, 62), who also remarks on oysters from Britain (*N.H.* 9.169, 32.62; cf. Tac. *Agr.* 12.6).¹ But their most famous provenance, remarkable (perhaps) because it was not a strictly maritime location, was the Lucrine Lake. In Pliny's time young oysters were even imported from Brundisium to mature in the Lucrine, thereby acquiring a subtle blend of flavours (Plin. *N.H.* 9.169; cf. 32.61). So famous were the Lucrine oyster-beds that their produce could be designated simply by an adjective identifying their provenance: cf. Mart. 6.11.5 'tu Lucrina uoras, me pascit aquosa peloris', 12.48.4.²

Hence oysters from the Lucrine are precisely the right test for Montanus' palate. Yet *saxum* is an odd way to designate the lake. Discomfort is registered by Ferguson, who remarks that the Lucrine is nowhere else associated with rock(s).³ The lake is not known to have contained a rock in Antiquity, either protruding or submerged,⁴ nor

¹ D'Arcy Thompson, judging Richborough 'an unlikely spot for oysters', suggested that Juvenal is deploying the mannerism whereby, because Rutupiae was the chief port for traffic from the continent, it was cited *pars pro toto* for Britain in general (*A Glossary of Greek Fishes* [London, 1947], p. 192); but for evidence of oyster-shells found there in large numbers see B. W. Cunliffe, *Fifth Report on Excavations at Richborough = Reports of the Society of Antiquaries* 23 (1968), pp. 24 and 33.

² On oyster-culture in the Lucrine see J. H. D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples* (Cambridge, MA, 1970), pp. 136–7.

³ J. Ferguson, *Juvenal, The Satires. Edited with Introduction and Commentary* (London, 1979), ad loc.

⁴ On line 141 the scholia to Juvenal record 'locus brittiorum (Bruttiorum *Pithoeus*)', followed by 'locus in Britannia siue ciuitas' (on *Rutupino*). It does not seem possible that the Bruttii who inhabited what is now Calabria can be meant (*RE* iii. 907–11 s.v. Bruttii [Hülse]). Professor R. G. M. Nisbet has suggested to me an excellent solution: that *brittiorum* is a corruption of *Britannorum*, and that both comments by the scholiast gloss *Rutupino...fundo*. (By the seventeenth century *Pithoeus*' 'correction' had given rise to the assertion that *Lucrinum...saxum*

could the phrase *Lucrinum ad saxum* refer to its surroundings, since it does not occupy the rocky eminence which would be required to make *saxum* a readily intelligible reference to its setting; indeed, it was separated from the sea not by a rock-face but by a dyke of sand-dunes known as the *via Herculanea*.⁵ Arguably Juvenal might have referred to this dyke as *saxum* if he did not know that it was composed of sand, or – a more likely circumstance – a scribe might have substituted *saxum* for another word designating the causeway (e.g. *claustrum* or [*Lucrinam ad*] *molem*);⁶ but, particularly in association with *Rutupino ... fundo*, a word for the lake itself is required to designate the oysters' provenance, rather than an allusion to the causeway alongside it.

Again, if the artificial stools upon which the oyster spat were cultivated were rock-faces or rocky eminences, *saxum* would be explicable, even though the singular would still be odd;⁷ but oyster-culture at the Lucrine is associated with a framework of stakes upon which the oysters were cultivated: cf. Auson. *Epist.* 9.30 Schenkl (= 3.30 Green) 'uel quae Baianis pendent fluitantia palis (*V*: pilis *Scaliger*)'. The reading *palis*⁸ is corroborated by an illustration on a group of three glass flasks from Populonia, Rome, and Ampurias dating from the late third or early fourth century A.D.⁹ The wheel-abraded decoration on these flasks includes in its lower register a framework of stakes from which are suspended weighted ropes; the identification of these structures as oyster-beds is verified by the inscription *OSTRIARIA* above them,¹⁰ an easily recognisable variant for *ostrearia*.¹¹ The inscription on two of the

alludes to 'Bruttiorum saxum, scopulum in lacu Lucrino': see e.g. *D. Junii Juvenalis & Auli Persii Flacci Saturae cum veteris scholiastae & variorum commentariis editio nova* [Amsterdam, 1684]; this reference, and considerable help besides, I owe to the kindness of Professor M. F. Smith.)

⁵ Strabo 5.4.6, K.-J. Beloch, *Campanien*² (Breslau, 1890), p. 172, *RE* xiii. 2. 1695–6 s.v. *Lucrinus lacus* (Phillip). For a description of the topography see R. F. Paget, 'The ancient ports of Cumae', *JRS* 58 (1968), 152–69 (at pp. 163–4). The eruption of Monte Nuovo on 30 September 1538 considerably reduced the size of the lake, and as a result of bradyseism ('the rhythmic rise and fall of the land, with respect to the sea': Paget, p. 154), sections of the *via Herculanea* have sunk more than six metres below the surface of the Mediterranean: for an aerial photograph of the area, with a sketch superimposed showing the conjectural extent of the lake and position of the coastline in Antiquity, see M. Frederiksen (N. Purcell, ed.), *Campania* (Rome, 1984), pl. XIV.

⁶ I owe these suggestions to Dr S. J. Heyworth.

⁷ Cf. Tac. *Agr.* 12.6 (the harvesting of pearls in the Red Sea) 'nam in rubro mari [margarita] uiua ac spirantia saxis auelli'.

⁸ R. P. H. Green adopts the reading *pilis* on the assumption that the line is a reminiscence of the simile at Virg. *Aen.* 9.710–11 describing the construction of a breakwater out to sea: 'talīs in Euboico Baiarum litore quondam / saxea pila cadit'. But the only similarity is the topographical reference to Baiae, and Ausonius is not referring to a breakwater.

⁹ Corning Museum of Glass, no. 62.1.31 (the 'Populonia Bottle': see D. B. Harden, *Glass of the Caesars* [Milan, 1987], pp. 208–9); the National Museum, Warsaw, no. 14247 MN (a flask from the catacombs at Rome); a flask in the possession of Doña Catalina Albert at La Escala, near Ampurias in Spain (the 'Ampurias Flask'). A related group of vessels depicts civic buildings and a mole, which are identified by an inscription as Puteoli. The most comprehensive discussion is by K. S. Painter, 'Roman flasks with scenes of Baiae and Puteoli', *Journal of Glass Studies* 17 (1975), 54–67. See also A. Kisa, *Das Glas im Altertume* (Leipzig, 1908), Ch. Picard, 'Pouzzoles et le paysage portuaire', *Latomus* 18 (1959), 23–51. The inscription on the Populonia Bottle is recorded at *CIL* xi.6710.18.

¹⁰ The word *PILAE*, inscribed vertically on the other side of the flask between illustrations of two of the columns, apparently refers to a colonnade and has nothing to do with the oyster-beds; it therefore cannot be adduced in support of the reading *pilis* in the passage of Ausonius quoted above (see n. 8).

¹¹ 'Oyster-beds': cf. Plin. *N.H.* 9.160 'nuper compertum in ostreariis umorem iis [ostreis] fetificum ... effluere', Macr. *Sat.* 3.15.3 'Sergius Orata, qui ... primus ostrearia in Baiano locauit', *TLL* ix.2.1160.70 (Bader).

flasks names the location as *Baiae*,¹² which confirms the identification of the oyster-beds as those of the Lucrine.

The word *stagnu[m]* occurs four times on these flasks: once each on the Populonia Bottle and the Ampurias Flask, and twice on the flask from Rome. On the Ampurias Flask and in one of the occurrences on the flask from Rome *stagnu[m]* appears in conjunction with a defining genitive in the phrase *STAGNV. NERONIS*. This has been identified as the ambitious spa complex that Nero is known to have begun constructing between Misenum and Lake Avernus;¹³ the precise topographical reference suggests that the project was indeed completed (perhaps on a lesser scale than originally envisaged) and bore Nero's name.¹⁴ But on the Populonia Bottle and in the other instance on the flask from Rome *stagnu[m]* occurs without a defining genitive as a general designation; in the context of oyster-beds it is reasonable to assume that it is used here in the technical sense 'pond for fish / oysters', and designates the Lucrine as a whole in which the *ostriaria* are located.¹⁵

In its role as a breeding-ground for oysters it is natural for the Lucrine to be designated *stagnum* rather than *lacus*. It is clear from Columella's treatise on agriculture that *stagnum* can be used as a synonym for *piscina*, the *vox propria* for a fishpond:¹⁶ *stagnum* occurs eight times in the chapter devoted to fish-farming.¹⁷ Listing oysters from the Lucrine as an example of superior fare that his host reserves for himself, Martial refers to the lake as a *stagnum* (3.60.3): '*ostrea tu sumis stagno saturata Lucrino*'. Hence in Juvenal's reference to oysters from the Lucrine the apparently irrelevant allusion to a Lucrine rock is likely to be a corruption of the appropriate (if trivializing) designation of the Lucrine as a *stagnum*. The passage (4.140–2) will then read:

... Circeis nata forent an
Lucrinum ad stagnum Rutupinoue edita fundo
ostrea callebat primo dependere morsu.¹⁸

From *stagnum* to *saxum* is palaeographically an easy change; the error might have been perpetrated by a scribe whose understanding of oyster-culture was no more precise than vague notions of collecting molluscs off the rocks at low tide.¹⁹

But if *stagnum* is right for the context, it remains to determine whether it is right for Juvenal's tone. In a couplet by Sidonius claiming the superiority of his *lacus* at

¹² *BAIAE*: Ampurias flask (written continuously); Rome flask (written as two syllables on planes at right angles to one another).

¹³ Suet. *Nero* 31.3: '*praeterea incohabat piscinam a Miseno ad Auernum lacum contextam porticibusque conclusam, quo quidquid totis Bais calidarum aquarum esset conuerteretur*'.

¹⁴ See M. T. Griffin, *Nero. The End of a Dynasty* (London, 1984), p. 127.

¹⁵ O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt* ii (Leipzig, 1913), p. 568 (describing the Populonia Bottle): '*...ist anzunehmen, daß stagnum im technischen Sinn als Teich für Fische oder Austern ... zu interpretieren ist*'.

¹⁶ Columella concludes 8.16 with the programmatic statement '*sed iam de situ piscinarum dicendum est*'; the first sentence of 8.17 begins '*stagnum censemus eximie optimum, quod sic positum est, ut ...*'.

¹⁷ Colum. 8.17.1 (*bis*), 3, 5 (*bis*), 6, 8, 10.

¹⁸ If '*Lucrinum ad stagnum*' is the correct reading, this is an instance where *ad* is used loosely instead of *in* with the ablative, as is occasionally attested with the names of cities, countries, and islands: see L-H-S ii. 219.

¹⁹ I have been unable to trace any attempts to emend this passage, other than Courtney's suggestion that '*...forent aut ... Rutupinone* would group Circeii and the Lucrine together, rather than taking the Lucrine with Richborough as is required by the paradoxos. If I have been anticipated in suggesting *stagnum* for *saxum*, I hope this note will at least succeed in reviving a plausible conjecture.

Avitacum over and above the reputation of the Lucrine, *stagnum* may be meant to sound patronizing (*Carm.* 18.7–8): ‘Lucrinum stagnum diues Campania nollet, / aequora si nostri cerneret illa lacus’. When Martial imagines a friend boating in small pleasure-craft on the still waters of the Lucrine, the lake is once again a *stagnum*, reduced thereby to the status of a recreational pond (*Mart.* 3.20.19–20): ‘an aestuantis iam profectus ad Baias / piger Lucrino nauculatur in stagno?’. Juvenal himself alludes to the conditions required for these insubstantial craft in conveying the notion that the surface of Trajan’s inner basin at Ostia is as smooth as a millpond (12.79–81): ‘sed trunca puppe magister / interiora petit Baianae peruia cumbae / tuti stagna sinus’. In conjunction with Trajan’s triumph of naval engineering, *stagna* (‘pools’) is deliberately bathetic; the choice of a single word to undercut the grand or the pretentious is typical of Juvenal’s satire.²⁰

If we look again at the evidence for Montanus’ discriminating palate, we find far-flung Rutupiae on the coast of Kent described by a stately periphrasis. After *stagnum*, the epic solemnity of *Rutupino ... fundo* would acquire a special edge: from the shallow standing water of the lagoon (recalling the derivation of *stagnum* from *stare*) Juvenal plunges to the depths of the Oceanus Britannicus. The epicure plots the Roman Empire by its oyster-beds, so that, just as ‘fishpond’ is the right word for the provenance of the oysters guzzled by Martial’s hypocritical host, so it is consonant with Juvenal’s habit of mocking the pretensions of cultural snobs to ascribe to Montanus the refinement of being able to identify oysters from, yes, the Lucrine, but not the ‘Lucrine Lake’: rather, the ‘Lucrine Pond’.

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²⁰ Mythological contexts particularly lend themselves to this treatment: e.g. the golden fleece is designated by a diminutive form of *pellis*, ‘hide’ (1.10–11 ‘furtivae... aurum / pelliculae’); Daedalus, the great inventor, is a ‘craftsman’ (1.54 ‘fabrum... uolantem’); Pegasus is Medusa’s ‘nag’ (3.118 ‘Gorgonei delapsa est pinna caballi’); Jason himself is a trader (6.154 ‘mercator Iason’).

*FEROX SCELERUM? A NOTE ON TACITUS, ANNALS 4.12.2**

nam Seianus ubi videt mortem Drusi inultam interfectoibus, sine maerore publico esse, ferox scelerum et quia prima provenerant, volutare secum, quonam modo Germanici liberos perverteret, quorum non dubia successio.

Commentators on this passage have drawn attention to the unusual genitive in the phrase *ferox scelerum*, ‘fierce in his crimes’: ‘this adj. seems here alone to take an objective genitive’, says Furneaux, while Martin and Woodman state that ‘the dependent genitive of an external attribute, evidently on the analogy of its use with personal characteristics (e.g. Ovid, *Met.* 8.613 *mentis*), seems unparalleled and is perhaps intended to suggest that Sejanus’ criminality was innate’. Most commentators add a reference to Sallust’s description of Jugurtha as *sceleribus suis ferox* (*Jug.* 14.21), but that passage is no help as a parallel for the construction, since it gives the ablative usual after *ferox* in Tacitus and other writers to describe the reason for ferocity (cf. *Agr.* 27.1 *fama ferox*, *Hist.* 1.51.1 *ferox praeda*, *Ann.* 1.3.4 *robore corporis stolide ferocem*, *TLL* 6.567.76ff.).

As Martin and Woodman rightly note, this is the only passage in classical Latin where *ferox* is found with a genitive which does not refer to the ferocious person’s

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